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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES AND HORIZONTAL MOBILITY IN THE ETIOLOGY OF AGGRESSION

Gerhard J. Falk

It is the object of this paper to demonstrate that differential aggression patterns are the consequence of social class membership. From such a demonstration it may then be inferred that the consequences of aggression, such as homicide, assault, etc., are equally related to social class.

SOCIAL CONTROLS

That there is a difference in the adaptation of the social classes to their environment was already recognized by Aristotle.[1] The philosopher advises that one class is rich, another poor and the third "mean" and that the latter is "best." By this he meant that "he who greatly excels in strength, beauty, birth or wealth or is very poor, very weak or disgraced cannot follow rational principles." The two extreme groups, Aristotle tells us, are likely to become criminal as those who have too much good fortune are neither willing nor able to submit to authority. They are never reared to learn the habit of obedience but commit "roguery."[2] "Evil begins at home," says the philosopher. We are also told that only the middle class of citizens can be relied upon to secure the state and to exhibit a stable and permanent influence. Aristotle also commented that children are treated in a differential manner with reference to socio-economic class.

This phenomenon is of course still true. Thus we find that the lower classes are more severe with regard to toilet training while American middle classes expect of their children a good deal of

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[1] Benjamin Jowett, *Aristotle's Politics* (New York: The Modern Library, 1943), 190.

[2] Jowett, *op. cit.* p. 191.

educational attainment.[3] The social classes also differ with respect
to the feeding of infants, weaning and the use of pacifiers; bowel
and bladder control and the assumption of responsibilities in the
household.[4] In other words, the techniques employed in the care
and rearing of children are culturally patterned and therefore tend
to be similar within a social class.[5] Lower classes are reported to
have a psychologically close hierarchical and rigid parent—child re-
lationship while middle classes are more ostensibly equalitarian and
flexible in this regard.[6] At the same time lower classes tend to be
more permissive with respect to outside activities than the upper
classes. The middle class is more concerned with fostering parentally
trained independence in their children by clearly defining the extent
of outside activities that may be sought. Maintenance of supervision
by the withdrawal of approval makes the middle class child aware
of the importance of "proper" behavior which may be defined as
conformity to class standards.

Warner[7] indicates that life in the middle class family proceeds
according to strictly established rules with reference to the outside
world and that children are vigorously supervised and brought up
to value the achievement patterns and moral codes of their class.
Discipline exists in the lower classes also but it is often harsh and
there is little supervision of children outside the home.

DIFFERENTIAL CHILD REARING AND AGGRESSION

These differences in child rearing are not confined to the home.
They are carried over to the schools as well.

This means that there are different controls upon children from
different social classes in the schools of the country.[8] Thus, as schools
are now constituted, controls fall more heavily on boys than on
girls and the hand of authority is much lighter upon the child of

[3] Robert J. Havighurst and Allison Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago
and Harvard Studies of Social Class Difference in Child Rearing" *The
American Sociological Review,* XX (August 1955) 441.

[4] Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Dif-
ferences in Child Rearing" *The American Sociological Review* XI (November
1946) 698.

[5] Abraham Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York:
Columbia University Press, 1939) 147.

[6] Henry Maas, "Some Social Class Differences in the Family Systems of
Pre- and Early Adolescents" *Child Development* XXII (September 1951), 145.

[7] Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratifica-
tion" *Class, Status and Power* (New York: The Free Press, 1953) 233.

[8] George Psathas, "Ethnicity, Social Class and Adolescent Independence
from Social Control" *The American Sociological Review* XXV (August
1957), 442.

the upper and middle class than on the child of the lower class.[9] The tendency is to be harsh and rebuking to the child of the lower class, to make punishment more severe for such children and to minimize rewards for children categorized as "racial" or "ethnic" minorities. The same holds true of a child with a "bad" reputation.

The consequence of these class differentials in rearing children is of course differential personality organization as well. It is the predominant type of social relationship in a soeiety or ethnocentric group which determines an individual's society oriented identification, his status, his demands and his expectations.[10] To these he must conform in order to preserve his social relationships.

Thus the personality of an individual becomes the organization of his drives and motives as dictated by the unconscious aspects of mental behavior. This behavior differs from class to class and is largely determined by environmental pressures.

Thus we see that personality is a function of class differentials, a view which is supported by the finding that there is a relationship between neurosis and social class.[11] This would indicate that if neuroses of all kinds are manifestations of underlying personality characteristics there is some evidence that class differentials affect adjusted as well as non-adjusted persons.[12]

Adjustment is defined as emotional conditioning to class values. Since the pressures and constraints of one class differ so much from that of another class it becomes evident that there is no objective criterion of well adjusted or "neurotic" but that these terms must be sociologically interpreted with reference to the group in which the subject operates.

Thus, lower class children are encouraged to express aggression freely and openly. The slum culture teaches a child to fight and to admire fighters.[13] Thus the child who shocks her middle class teacher by telling how her uncle beat her aunt as a "Mother's Day Present" [14] gets approval from her own group for aggression while the teacher

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[9] H. Otto Dahlke, *Values in Culture and Classroom* (New York: Harper Brothers 1957) 274.

[10] Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "A Theory of Status Integration" *The American Sociological Review,* XXIII (April 1958), 141.

[11] Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Basic Personality Structure" *Sociology and Social Research* XXXVI (July 1952), 356.

[12] Robert B. Catell, "The Cultural Functions of Social Stratification" *The Journal of Social Psychology* XXI (July 1948), 25.

[13] W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man* (The Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1947) 14.

[14] Ibid, p. 15.

considers the same trait obnoxious. The reverse is also true. Middle classes praise children for being anxious to please, for keeping quiet and for compliance with their requests. These same traits however, are considered the attributes of a "schemer" by the lower class. Here outspokenness is considered important and aggression is considered a token of "honesty." [15] Readiness to "tell people off" is esteemed and culture heroes are people who have long police records, particularly if they have been charged with murder.[16]

This aggressiveness is developed in children from two to five years of age so that they will be quick to fight and proud of their handiwork. Women expect their brothers, fathers and husbands to be cocky and aggressive.

Additional light is shed on this class differential by the fact that lower class children have less of an opportunity to rise to a higher socio-economic position than is true for middle class children. Therefore, the restrictions imposed by the middle class parent on his children are purposeful because they lead to upward mobility. The lower class child sees no such advantage and therefore resents restrictions more and is more willing to exhibit aggression or frustration.[17]

VALUES AND SOCIAL CLASS

In simple folk societies most people have a rather well defined status which is sustained and reinforced by direct participation in community life.[18] Thus social forces make for a good deal of rigidity of classes and give each individual a definitive guide for behavior. In American society however, classes are less well defined than in caste societies.[19] This is particularly true in the urban community but is also true in urban oriented groups. Even while some social forces have made for more rigidity, others have tended to counteract this. As a result many persons' notions of class have become confused and indistinct. This trend is further enhanced by the indeterminate state of the class structure as designed by such variables as occupation and economic success. Ours is an acquisitive and competitive society where individuals are admired by reason of prestige positions

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[15] W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man* p. 17.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 19.
[17] Milton L. Barron, *The Juvenile in Delinquent Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955) 134.
[18] Elwin H. Powell, "Toward a Redefinition of Anomie" *The American Sociological Review* XXIII (April 1958) 131.
[19] Gideon Sjoberg, "Are Social Classes in America Becoming More Rigid?" *The American Sociological Review* XVI (December 1951) 783.

that are achieved. The role which the person plays first as a child in the family and then in the peer group and finally as an adult are all functions of the rights and obligations of status which is defined here as any position in any social system.[20]

These roles finally become incorporated into the structure of the self and are exhibited in self discipline, the unconscious aspect of mental behavior.[21] Outside pressures, such as the demands of the job, the expectations of friends and relatives, and the relations to associates structure these roles even more closely and serve to keep the family together and control the individual.[22]

This then leads to the conclusion that the status of the adult white male in America depends primarily on occupation. Thus the vocation of an individual determines his general social status if determined either by himself or someone else.[23] However, status is not the same when subjectively determined or when objectively analyzed. In fact differences arise here which are a function of class membership. Therefore values are not the same from class to class.[24]

When differences between the values of people are analyzed by class it appears that differing social classes will define values subjectively in a manner which may differ from the objective measure of their class membership. This means that the criteria of occupation and economic condition, value judgments and other objective factors tend to classify individuals in a social class which is not always consistent with their self conception of their status.

Thus class is defined both subjectively and objectively and differs on the basis of who classified an individual. Therefore the attitudes of people are determined by the class in which they believe they are. For instance, different groups in a community have a differential amount of power, but this does not mean the same thing to everyone.[25]

The power relationship in society is instrumental in promoting the individuality of each member of the group. Thus, the master is

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[20] Powell, *op. cit.* p. 132.

[21] Havighurst, *op. cit.* p. 358.

[22] August B. Hollingshead, "Class Differences in Family Stability" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* CCLXXII (November 1950), 39.

[23] Powell, *op. cit.* 132.

[24] Ivan D. Steiner, "Some Sociological Values Associated With Objectively and Subjectively Defined Social Class Membership" *Social Forces* XXXI (May 1953), 328.

[25] Walter Goldschmidt, "Social Class in America—A Critical Review" *The American Anthropologist* LII (October 1950) 484

more of an individual than the servant, the commander more than the common soldier. Individualism grows with power and with wealth but also with responsibility. This responsibility consists both of the view which the individual has toward himself and also the opinion he has of those who make him responsible.[26]

CLASS MEMBERSHIP AND THE FRUSTRATION AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS

In modern western societies the "proletariat" and other classes are theoretically considered equal before the law. Actually however, and to some extent even legally, the totality of their rights and privileges is much more modest than that of other clases.[27] Thus, punishment for criminals with different social characteristics, such as social class and sex, varies according to the crime and its cultural significance for that class and sex.[28] The reason for this is that people with different life experiences are likely to make different judgments concerning the seriousness of an offense and the punishment that should be assigned for the violation of the law.

The deterent and retributive effects of a given sentence can therefore be assumed to be different for different segments of the population. For instance, the lower class Negro is characterized by attitudes and modes of behavior brought from the South. He has "a greater tendency to follow without anxiety an accommodative and stereotyped role with respect to whites, a more unstable and mobile employment status and a fairly casual attitude toward family and institutional controls." [29]

Law however, was developed in an earlier and more integrated society and does not always reflect contemporary diversified values as outlined in the above quotation.[30] In addition to the differences in interpretation of social control as practiced by diverse socio-economic and racial groups, the agents of social control also differ in their interpretation of behavior dependent of course on their class membership. Thus the background of judges is related to their judgments and the punishment they assign for various offenses differ with the sex, socio-economic status and size of the community

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[26] Ferdinand Tönnies, "Stände und Klassen" *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie* (Glencoe: The Free Press 1931) 58.

[27] Pitirim Sorokin, "What is a Social Class?" *The Journal of Legal and Political Sociology* III (September 1947) 24.

[28] Arnold M. Rose and Arthur E. Prell, "Does the Punishment Fit the Crime?" *The American Journal of Sociology* LI (November 1955) 248.

[29] Richard A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1949) 148.

[30] Sorokin, *op. cit.* p. 25.

concerned.[31] Therefore punishments favored for criminals of different social classes and for the two sexes vary according to the crime and its cultural meaning in relation to class and sex.

Thus social controls of a legal nature are more stringent upon the less privileged groups than the more powerful groups. However, this is not the only area in which the deprivations of a low socio-economic status operate. The nature of the work done by the "proletariat" is often highly monotonous. It is boring and little calculated to stimulate thought, to say nothing of creativeness. His share of burdensome duties including subordination and dependence on others is disproportionately large. Thus, "to be poor means to be dependent on the grace and good will of the rich." [32]

Now the problem of the place of power in the social system shades directly into that of authority relationships. Both root in the fundamentals of social interaction and become meaningful when institutionalized expectations include the legitimization of coercive sanctions.[33] This means that authority is synonymous with superiority and control over the action of others. The nature and basis of such superiority may vary widely. However, whatever its source, the superior-inferior relationship promotes a feeling of frustration on the inferior individual and generates a strong motive for conflict by imputing to the superior class responsibility for the injustices under which the inferior suffers.[34]

This does not imply that frustration for the lower classes in American society is imaginary. Instead, it is very real and self-perpetuating. Poverty means hardship. By reason of low income or dependence on relief undernourishment is common.[35] Clothing, furniture and utensils cannot be replaced when they wear out. Life is thus a nightmare of fear and hunger, evictions and a pauper's grave. The burden of debt holds many families in poverty even if their income might otherwise be adequate. This perpetuates the deprivations of the lower class community and creates a sense of despair. Such despair is founded on experience as a vicious circle enmeshes the poor. Their health is generally poor. Therefore their stamina is low.

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[31] Rose, *op. cit.* p. 43.

[32] Tönnies, *op. cit.* p. 62.

[33] Talcott Parsons, "The Theory of Social Stratification" Bendix *op. cit.* p. 96.

[34] T. H. Marshall, "The Nature of Class Conflict" *Class Conflict and Social Stratification* (New York: The Institute of Sociology 1938) 108.

[35] James Ford, *Social Deviation* (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1939) 290.

In addition they are culturally deficient as they lack education. Consequently employers are unwilling to hire them except for the most routine jobs. These jobs are the least stable and most subject to business cycles so that the lower class worker is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. This in turn results in cheap rental living, overcrowded rooms and family instability.[36]

"The lower class family pattern is unique. The husband-wife relationship is more or less an unstable one even if the marriage is sanctioned by law. Disagreements leading to quarrels and viscious fights followed by desertions by either men or women are not uncommon." [37] Thus broken homes are frequent and children begin their lives under such circumstances. This leads many lower class persons to assume that their circumstances are hopeless, that respectable people sneer at them and that the social controls are unjust.

Admittedly, social controls always have their limitations. Abel describes how even the rulers of a concentration camp cannot insure a "foolproof" organization but must contend with the unforeseen and the weaknesses of human nature.[38] That is to say that humans cannot be molded like a robot. Thus any ruling personnel is dependent on its subject population and this dependence insures that controls can never be complete. Nevertheless there appears to be some evidence that frustrations consequent to social controls may lead to aggression.[39]

The frustrations inherent in any vertical relationship produce a number of different possible responses, one of which may be some form of aggression. Even when no specific frustrating agent is present some object may be created for the purpose of relieving aggression arising from frustrating situations.[40] This need varies with the tolerance to frustration which a thwarted individual may have. However, such frustration is often displaced upon a person or group representing a constellation of ideas that evoke hostility. Such aggressive responses as are then evoked may be spectacularly dangerous to society.

Periodically attention is focussed on a person who has committed

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[36] Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart and Co. 1957) 211.

[37] *Ibid.* p. 212.

[38] Theodore Abel, "The Sociology of Concentration Camps" *Social Forces* XXX (December 1951), 154.

[39] John Dollard, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950) 134.

[40] Neal E. Miller, "The Frustration Aggression Hypothesis" *The Psychological Review* XLVIII (July 1941) 340.

an extremely aggressive crime.[41] Such crimes are often committed by persons feeling inferior either with regard to society in general or with regard to a specific person with whom there exists frequent face to face contact. In such cases murder may be the result of a wish to get rid of the real or imagined domination of another person, thereby removing the inferiority suffered.

Alexander[42] describes such a case, a situation which resulted in fraticide: "In the course of a quarrel Mark, who was nineteen years old, shot his brother William, who was two years younger than he, and his Friend Ferdinand, approximately the same age. The psychological problem that the criminal act of this boy imposes on us consists fundamentally of how this weak, somewhat introverted, not especially aggressive young man with a constant feeling of inferiority committed such a deed which no one thought him capable of.

. . . his younger brother William was physically stronger and had beaten him brutally . . . he began to give way to the feeling of being constantly the underdog. In phantasy his brother continually struck him. When he got into a controversy with anyone this picture appeared, paralyzing his power of resistance. The resulting tension caused his hatred of his brother and the shooting." This murder occurred within a family group.

DIFFERENTIAL MOBILITY

An important function of our class oriented society is horizontal and vertical mobility. This presents the individual with the necessity of adapting to various social strata and different conditions in time and place throughout a lifetime.[43] Consequently a good deal of mental and emotional strain accompanies this mobility while intensive shifting from place to place also hinders considerably the promotion of rigid habits and stable morals. Thus we find that stratification creates hostility and horizontal mobility fosters the opportunity to express it. Therefore an inverse relationship exists between the degree of horizontal mobility and the strength of the social controls.

Anyone who has read "The Grapes of Wrath" by John Steinbeck finds therein an example of this relationship. This is further underscored by the high delinquency and crime rates in the slums of

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[41] August B. Hollingshead, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community" *American Sociological Review* XII (June 1947) 385.

[42] Franz Alexander, "A Double Murder Committed by a Nineteen Year Old Boy" *The Psychoanalytical Review* XXIV (June 1937) 113.

[43] Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1927) 510.

New York and Chicago and other large cities where high mobility is accompanied by truancy, runaway children, vagrancy and crimes of all kinds.[44]

Thus, both urban and rural mobility promotes disorganization. The country boy who comes home from the city with alien notions is a less frequent example of disorganization than the city boy who has been exposed to differential culture patterns. Nevertheless, the effect is the same and maladjustment is the result.[45]

A study of mobility in Seattle connects high labor turnover with juvenile delinquency, low school attendance and court appearances. Thus it can justifiably be concluded that delinquency varies directly with horizontal and vertical mobility. An illustration of the degree of spatial mobility with which our society must deal is given by Sutherland.[46] Relating the circumstances of the Urschel kidnapping he says, "the Urschel kidnapping occurred in the state of Oklahoma, the victim was held captive in a remote rural section of Texas, the ransom money was paid in Missouri, a portion of the money was exchanged in Minnesota, another portion was hidden in Texas, one of the guilty parties was located in Colorado and the others in Tennessee, Minnesota, Texas and Illinois."

CONCLUSION

We have shown that aggressive patterns are learned as part of early childhood education and are reinforced by class membership. Consequently, violent crimes are equally related, and learned. It can thus be adequately concluded, that the preponderance of violent offenses in the lower classes is related to a *generally more violent* environment, rather than to any "criminal tendencies." Since crimes of violence are more subject to publicity however, than crimes of a more subtle nature, it is easy to believe that crime is *per se* more frequent in lower than middle or upper classes.

This view we have thus refuted.

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[44] Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (New York: Prentice Hall 1947) 154.

[45] Barnes, *op. cit.* p. 154.

[46] Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947), 248.

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ORGANIZATION TENSIONS IN THE SMALL COLLEGE

Jack E. Dodson

Sociologists appear to be increasingly interested in higher education as a phenomenon to be subjected to research. Publication of *The Academic Marketplace* and its reception are evidence of this trend of professional interest.[1] The chief aim of this research note is to make a small contribution to formal knowledge of higher education. Another aim is to offer some description and analysis of that type of institution Caplow and McGee so menacingly label "Siberia." The paper has definite limitations. The ideal-type formulation of organization problems in the small and undistinguished college is offered as a pioneering venture which may lead to research productive of more certain knowledge.[2]

That all is not well with the numerous small and undistinguished colleges[3] in the United States appears to be widely recognized— especially by those academicians who have the most direct knowledge of conditions in the small colleges. Excessive teaching loads, low pay, professional isolation, and limited opportunities for research are well-known problems for faculty and administration in the small college. This paper presents the thesis that problems of organization pose equally serious difficulties for the personnel of the typical small college. In the following paragraphs, there is presented: (1) a description of the small college as a formal organization; (2) an analysis of a characteristic problem of organization in small colleges; (3) a description of tensions and strains in the roles of faculty and administrative personnel which are associated with the organization problem; (4) a statement of the results of the organization problem for the composition of the faculty.

The small college is a variety of bureaucracy. There is an hierarchy of offices associated with a chain of command, the official and private spheres of college personnel are separated, formal rules govern the official actions of personnel, and at least ideally, personnel are selected according to universalistic criteria and view appoint-

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[1] Caplow, Theodore and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace* New York: Basic Books, 1958.

[2] The typology was developed from participant observation by the writer in three small colleges and nine interviews of persons who presently hold positions in small colleges. In all cases these colleges are located in West South Central States.

[3] The category of institutions identified as "small and undistinguished" includes the small liberal arts colleges with scant academic traditions and the small and poorly financed state supported colleges. The category is admittedly approximate.

ments as "careers." Appropriately to the bureaucratic model, authority stems from a charter and control is legally held by a governing board.

Vestiges of the collegial pattern of organization may blur somewhat the actual pattern of hierarchical organization. The faculty may elect a committee, or committees, to advise the president or to make decisions of limited scope concerning academic matters. However, with infrequent exceptions, staff and line authority is unilateral and administrative discretion remains with the president.

Informal organization inevitably exists to complement and in instances to conflict with formal organization—as is characteristic of bureaucracy. In the small college, communication both "upward" and "downward" is partially accomplished through informal channels. Formal authority is in instances limited and in other instances supported by informal groups. In the analysis of the basic organizational problem of the small college, attention is especially directed to informal organization in the following paragraphs.[4]

As a bureaucratic organization the small college is designed to co-ordinate the official actions of all personnel to carry out the purposes of the organization. Formal controls and informal conventions exist to achieve co-ordination of the actions of personnel as agents of the organization. However, formal controls and informal rules are not sufficient always to achieve co-ordination of the actions of personnel. Recalcitrance occurs when the authority of administrators is not accepted as legitimate and personnel withhold compliance with rules or disobey orders.[5] The authority of organization command depends upon general consensus on the key values which relate to the organization's policies and the means for achieving success in carrying out policy through all levels. In the small college there is typically a lack of consensus between administrators and some faculty members in the over-all perspective concerning the legitimate purposes and policies of the organization.

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[4] For a lucid description of bureaucratic organization see: Dubin, Robert, *Human Relations in Administration: The Sociology of Organization,* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1951, pp. 155-163. For a discussion of informal organization see: Barnard, Chester I., *The Functions of the Executive,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 114-123. For a discussion of bureaucracy in educational institutions see: Page, Charles H., "Bureaucracy and Higher Education," *The Journal of General Education,* 5(January, 1951), pp 91-100.

[5] Selznick, Philip, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization," *American Sociological Review,* 13(February, 1948), pp. 25-28, and *TVA and the Grass Roots,* Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1949, pp. 9-11, pp. 250-254.

While the small college exists nominally for the purpose of providing educational services for its clients, the students, it is a badly kept secret that numerous tangential interests exist which rival educational services in the amount of time and energy devoted to their advancement.[6] Students, alumni, community well-wishers, local governmental officials, *et al.* expect the small college to provide entertainment on occasion, to lend its facilities to the community for non-academic use, to provide leadership support for community projects, and to engage in other non-academic activities and functions.[7] It is also expected, if not demanded, that the small college provide a situation where students can enjoy ample opportunities for harmless recreation and play. A consequence is that standards of scholarship and the quality of instruction tend to be relegated to the background while the greatest premium is placed upon furthering tangential interests.

The chief administrative officers in the small college are necessarily accommodated to the denigration of academic values. The office of the chief administrator represents a delegation of authority from a board of governors who are not committed to academic values but are usually more worldly in value orientation. There would ordinarily be little basis of understanding of the scholar's perspective by the governors, usually "hardheaded businessmen," who legally are the source of authority. But the retention of office by the chief administrator of the college depends upon official conduct which appears most justified to the non-academically oriented governors. There is little likelihood that tangential interests can suffer because of over-zealous promotion of educational and scholarly interests by a chief administrator.[8]

However, among the faculty of the small college there is usually a sizeable proportion whose perspective concerning policies and purposes of institutions of higher learning has been influenced by the

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[6] For elaboration of the idea of tangential interests in formal organizations, see: Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots, op. cit.,* pp. 155-157.

[7] Articles by faculty members at small colleges appear frequently in the American Association of University Professors *Bulletin* which protest against these tangential interests.

[8] Much of Veblen's criticism of higher education at major American universities in the years before World War I was based, of course, upon the intrusion of tangential interests of a similar sort and for similar reasons. The writer is not prepared to offer opinion as to the existence of similar organization problems to those described here in more distinguished institutions today. See: Veblen, Thorstein, *The Higher Learning in America,* New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918.

value orientations which prevail at major universities. For these personnel, the tangential interests of the administration are not considered legitimate while the quality of instruction and scholarship is of prime importance. These unaccommodated college instructors define the furtherance of tangential interest (at the expense of scholarly values) as an illegitimate function of the administrative office. Recalcitrance to administrative control follows; i.e., the legitimacy of the authority of the administrative officers is challenged. This problem of recalcitrance constitutes the underlying organizational dilemma of the small college.

The group of recalcitrant instructors typically form an informal coalition and present a serious problem of control for the chief administrative officers. Defining administrative policy as irresponsible and unjustified, members of the recalcitrant group find a number of ways to "buck" administrative control. There may occur instances of direct violation of rules of procedure having to do with the official routine of classroom instruction—absences may be left unreported or classes may be dismissed contrary to regulations. Or, more significantly, the recalcitrants may attempt to sabotage, in one way or another, the tangential activities which are strongly supported by the administrative officers. The recalcitrants, e.g., may boycott a conference organized by the administration to demonstrate the interest of the college in local affairs. The recalcitrants again may act to embarrass the chief administrative officers, by openly displaying their contempt of administrative officers to students and persons not officially connected with the college.

There are two chief ways that the organization problem leads to the development of role problems for functionaries of the small college organization: one way is the development of opposed cliques among the faculty personnel and a second way is the development of more authoritarian administrative procedures by administrative officials.

Division of teaching personnel into hostile cliques follows from the usual informal grouping of the teaching personnel of the small college. There are two groups of instructors at small colleges: members of one group are distinguished by a commitment to academic values and are professionally ambitious—these are the recalcitrants; the other group includes members who are not committed similarily to academic values and who are not markedly ambitious for academic achievement through scholarly efforts. The recalcitrant group ordinarily includes the younger men with the best graduate training of those on the teaching staff. The second group ordinarily includes

those men who have the poorer graduate training and those who have been relieved of the pressures of professional ambition through scholarly achievements. Cliquing into hostile groups occurs as the first group derives solidarity from the display of recalcitrance to the authority of the administration while the second or accommodated group derives solidarity from identity of interests with the administration and, hence, acceptance of the authority of the administration.[9]

To the extent that the normative standards in the different reference group perspectives conflict, the cliques are mutually outgroups for one another .

The difference in viewpoints between the groups leads to deteriorated relationships for several reasons. Cooperation with the administration frequently appears to the recalcitrant group as less than honorable compromise of the professional role, and disesteem will develop toward members of the accommodated cliques where cooperation occurs. Because the members of teaching staff who accept the authority of the administration are usually rewarded by promotions and special favors, chagrin and frustration is experienced by the recalcitrants because from their viewpoint the advantages are not earned. Relationships may be exacerbated in the not infrequent cases where accommodated colleagues use their access to the administration, earned through cooperation, for selfish ends as a phase of organization politics.

With estrangement among the cliques of faculty members, the professional ideal of fellowship is violated. Gossip, the withholding of cooperation and friendship between members of different cliques, particularistic rather than universalistic considerations in the professional role, which all go along with the development of cliques, contribute to conflict within the professional role; actions grounded in informal organization conflict with professional ideals and values.

In the face of recalcitrance, a likely response of the administrative officers is to develop more authoritarian administrative procedures. Where informal organization does not suffice to insure compliance with administrative directives, an attractive alternative to administrators is to elaborate formal controls, i.e., bureaucratic

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[9] The process resulting in the cliquing of faculty personnel can be expressed in other terminology as the consequences of different reference group identifications for the opposed cliques. For one clique, reference group identification involves commitment to the ideal values and norms of the professional college instructor. For the other clique, the reference group is the membership group of the accommodated instructors themselves. For the accommodated clique, the chief normative commitments involved in reference group identification are particularistic and situational behavior standards relative to the immediate social context.

rules, or to attempt more legalistic enforcement of old regulations. Bureaucratic rules reduce the amount of discretion enjoyed by functionaries which can be used to oppose the intent if not the letter of administrative directives.[10]

The tendency toward authoritarianism gives rise to strain because it is viewed as a threat to the prerogatives of the teaching staff. The recalcitrant group retains the ideal of the college being a community of scholars collegially organized. Authoritarian administration procedures encroach upon the legitimate independence of teaching personnel in their professional activities and threaten professional status. The consequence of the growth of constraint leads to greater estrangement of administrators and the recalcitrant teaching personnel. Because authoritarian control in the college can supply additional grounds for considering the authority of the administration to be illegitimate, the consequence can be to increase the extent and degree of recalcitrance.

The schism in organization and the related problems for personnel have important consequences for the small college. One consequence is to lessen the capacity of the college personnel to achieve the formal goal of the organization—educational service to the student clients. Obviously, the problems in interpersonal relations which exist with faculty cliquing would jeopardize morale and, in instances at least, contribute to dissatisfaction of instructors with their appointments. Poor morale and dissatisfaction inevitably have undesirable results for teaching.

Perhaps, more importantly the efficiency of the small college as an organization is jeopardized by the results of organization problems on the composition of the faculty. The problems posed for faculty personnel by the developments of estranged cliques and the development of authoritarian modes of administration brings about an undesirable sort of selectivity in recruiting permanent additions to the faculty. Those who are the most disgruntled and dissatisfied, the recalcitrant clique, are usually the most qualified among faculty personnel. Commitment to scholarly values, ordinarily a consequence of professional indoctrination in acceptable graduate training, is a concomitant of recalcitrance. It follows that those who are most likely to move on within a brief period are those most qualified professionally among recruits. The situation tends to promote a systematic exclusion of the best recruits and retention of less qualified.

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[10] Cf. Gouldner, Alvin W., Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 157-180.

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MASS PERSUASION AND THE ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

Marvin Bressler

During the last decade professional educators and lay-intellectuals have been increasingly preoccupied with the phenomenon of over-conformity in American society. The period since World War II has been marked by a sort of dialectic of anxiety: the thesis, a free, individualistic, and democratic American way of life; the anti-thesis, fear of bureaucratic collectivism made possible by the availability of ever more sophisticated methods for manipulating mass opinion and controlling men's minds. Recently, David Riesman, C. Wright Mills, William F. Whyte and Vance Packard have all testified that the synthesis may be uncomfortably close at hand. It is small wonder why, for so many people, Madison Avenue has replaced Wall Street as the prevailing devil symbol. Perhaps the single most revealing index of the mood of the intellectuals is the comparative reception accorded Huxley's and Orwell's fictional representations of the wave of the future: *Brave New World* was treated as an amiable fantasy, while *1984* is more frequently read as a genuinely frightening and plausible prophecy.

Although the alarm has been sounded often, there have been comparatively few concrete suggestions on how we might learn to resist. Of late, there have been murmurings in educational and intellectual circles about the desirabiilty of reviving the linguistic analysis approach—the detection of emotionally laden and logic-obscuring statements—which lost a good deal of its motive power with the demise of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1942. One recent convert, Mr. Aldous Huxley, has lent his considerable prestige to this movement in a widely syndicated essay. According to Huxley:

> The effects of false and pernicious propaganda cannot be neutralized except by a thorough training in the art of analyzing its techniques and seeing through its sophistries. Language has made possible man's progress from animality to civilization. But language has also inspired folly and wickedness which are no less characteristic of human behavior than are the language-inspired virtues.
>
> In their anti-rational propaganda, the enemies of freedom systematically pervert the resources of language into thinking, feeling and acting as they, the mind-manipulators, want them to think, feel, and act.

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An education for freedom (and for the love and intelligence which are at once the conditions and the results of freedom) must be, among other things, an education in the proper uses of language.

All the intellectual materials for a sound education in the proper use of language—and education on every level from kindergarten to the post-graduate school—are now available.

Such an education in the art of distinguishing between the proper and the improper use of symbols could be inaugurated immediately. Indeed it might have been inaugurated at any time during the last thirty or forty years. And yet children are nowhere taught, in any systematic way, to distinguish true from false, or meaningful from meaningless statements.

Why is this so? Because their elders, even in the democratic counties, do not want them to be given this kind of education. In this context, the brief sad history of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis is highly significant.[1]

In these reflections, addressed to methods of preserving men's individuality and freedom through the analysis of the linguistic techniques of propaganda, a number of major assertions are admirably set forth for our inspection: 1) the analysis of language is a useful weapon for guarding our safety against scoundrels who wish to manipulate us, 2) the intellectual materials for linguistic analysis are available, and 3) propaganda analysis can be successfully taught to a mass audience, indeed to "every level from kindergarten to the post-graduate school." Since these contentions contain a message of hope and imply a program of action they deserve our most serious and sympathetic attention. Let us proceed then, to the task of examining the logical status of this general position, and the evidence which either refutes or tends to confirm it.

The technique detection approach can be systematically elaborated in the form of the following propositions:

1. Meaningful distinctions can be drawn between education and propaganda.

2. Education consists of an orderly presentation of evidence designed to permit the reader or listener to arrive at his own conclusions. Education, therefore, avoids linguistic devices which stress emotion and obscure thought.

3. Propaganda is an "expression of opinion or action by individuals and groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or

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1. North American Newspaper Alliance Syndicate, November 5, 1958.

actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predeter-mined ends." [2] Propaganda, therefore, relies on linguistic devices which stress emotion and obscure thought.

4. It is possible to reduce the varieties of linguistic devices which promote the substitution of emotional for rational response to a determinate small number. One such celebrated list of devices was developed by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in its publications which appeared between 1937 and 1941.[3] These are:

Name Calling—giving an idea a bad label—is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence.

Glittering Generality—associating something with a "virtue word"—is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence.

Transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter acceptable; or it carries authority, sanction, and disapproval to cause us to reject and disapprove something the propagandists would have us reject and disapprove.

Testimonial consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad.

Plain Folks is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are "of the people," the "plain folks."

Card Stacking involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or the worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product.

Band Wagon has as its theme, "Everybody—at least all of *us*—is doing it"; with it, the propagandist attempts to convince us that all members of a group to which we belong are accepting

2. *Propaganda Analysis,* four vols., Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., New York. I, 1.

3. Other, longer compilation of techniques exist. See, for instance, Alfred McClung Lee, "The Analysis of Propaganda: A Clinical Summary," *The American Journal of Sociology,* LI (1945-46), pp. 126-135. However, the validity of the "technique detection" approach does not depend on the addition or deletion of one or another specific technique.

his program and that we *must therefore* follow our crowd and "jump on the band wagon." [4]

5. The individual who is skilled in technique detection will be able to distinguish propaganda from education and protect himself from the gullibility which leads to political and intellectual conformity and loss of freedom.

The logic of experimental inquiry suggests the simplest model which must be satisfied in order to verify these propositions. Let us be explicit:

1. We identify a group which is indisputably propagandistic: its goals are socially injurious and its intent is to influence opinion in the direction of its pre-determined ends.

2. We identify another group whose orientation is indisputably educational: its goals are socially beneficial and its intent is to foster rational examination of issues.

3. We examine the extent to which the literature circulated by each of these groups contains statements making use of some such devices as those identified by the Institute.

4. If the "propagandistic" group makes extensive use of emotionally-laden and logic-obscuring linguistic devices and the "educational" groups make little or no use of them, we conclude that the technique detection approach is a useful tool of analysis.

5. If, on the other hand, both groups, the "propagandistic" and the "educational," make generous use of such devices, we conclude that either:

    a) our initial selection of groups was improper, or

    b) the technique detection approach is not helpful in aiding us to distinguish propaganda from education, nor socially desirable from socially undesirable groups.

We are indebted to the Institute for Propaganda Analysis for providing the materials necessary to carry on this exposition. Even from the vantage point of historical perspective it seems clear that, in its publications from October 1937 to January 1942, it carried the process of technique detection to its highest potential development. In a series of able and thoughtful analyses the Institute undertook to expose the propaganda of communists, fascists, Coughlinites, adherents of Gerald L. K. Smith, etc., and succeeded in this task so well that no further proof seems necessary that these and similar

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4. Alfred McClung Lee, Elizabeth B. Lee (eds), Institute for Propaganda Analysis Publication, *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1939, pp. 23-24.

groups had made extensive use of the seven devices. It remains only to examine the literature of some control group, which we define as being "educational," to determine whether or not these techniques also insinuate themselves into its writings. We have selected the Institute for Propaganda Analysis itself for this purpose. On purely *a priori* grounds it would be reasonable to suppose that the Institute, by virtue of its distinguished personnel and its declaration of intentions, would represent a sort of ideal embodiment of scientific virtue. Consider the following:

1. Of the fifteen men who served on the Institute's Board of Directors and Advisory Board for its first issue in 1937, there were seven affiliated with schools of education, two historians, one psychologist, one sociologist, one economist, one social philosopher, one administrator of a philanthropic organization, and one geologist. Thus, in addition to the professional educators there were representatives of all the social sciences except anthropology and political science, and at least one representative of the physical sciences.

2. Since the declared purpose of the Institute was the analysis of propaganda, and since this was also the organization responsible for the formulation of the seven devices, it is to be expected that the Institute would be especially sensitized against the intrusion of the techniques in its own writings.

Nevertheless, a critical appraisal of the Institute's publications yields the following major conclusions: 1) If we accept the definition of propaganda proffered by the Institute, we are compelled to conclude that the implicit assumptions which underlie the work of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis are propagandistic in nature; and 2) The Institute for Propaganda Analysis made frequent use of the seven propaganda devices.

Because our approach is critical, we cannot emphasize too strongly that this paper is not intended to be a polemical expose of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. It so happens that we find ourselves in general sympathy with the purposes and values expressed in the publications of the Institute. It is precisely because of our conviction that the work of the Institute represents more than usual devotion to science and humanitarianism that we are prompted to choose this organization to test the validity of the approach which it represents.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis as a Propaganda Agency

As indicated previously, the Institute defines propaganda as an "expression of opinion or action by individuals and groups deliber-

ately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to pre-determined ends." However, the nature of the Institute's declared purposes and the prerequsites which it insists are necessary conditions for the attainment of truth both imply the acceptance of certain controversial explicit and implicit assumptions which are consciously incorporated into its publications with the clear purpose of influencing opinion and behavior in the direction of "predetermined ends." There are at least three such assumptions which will be examined separately below:

1. *The rational, scientific, non-emotional process is the most desirable mode of attaining truth and arriving at social decisions.* In their preliminary statement of aims the editors of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis wrote:

> The Institute for Propaganda Analysis is a non-profit orga-
> nization organized for scientific research in methods used by
> propagandists in influencing public opinion. It will conduct
> a continuous survey and analysis of propagandas. By objective
> and scientific scrutiny of the agencies, techniques, and devices
> utilized in the formation of public opinion, it will seek to show
> how to recognize propaganda and appraise it. . . .[5]

Now, the method of science is only one of many alternatives which are currently available in aiding people to determine social policy, and consequently the espousal of such an approach is tendentious and controversial rather than self-apparent. There are, for instance, those who act on the basis of "doing what my heart tells me," while others urge "looking into your soul." The philosophers of the Third Reich were committed to the slogan that people "ought to think with their blood." The "predetermined end" of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis is to have us reject these approaches and to accept "objective and scientific scrutiny," an intent which is no less "propagandistic" because it is congenial to the value system of the author and to most other academicians.

2. *Propaganda analysis is not in itself propaganda*

> It shall not be within the purpose of the powers of the
> corporation to engage in propaganda or otherwise attempt to
> influence legislation, and the corporation shall not, either as one
> of its purposes or as a means of furthering any of its purposes,

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5. *Propaganda Analysis,* I, 1.

engage in propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation. . . .[6]

Despite this specific disclaimer of any desire to engage in propagandistic activity it is patently obvious that, if the Institute were to be successful in instructing its readers in the technique of rational scrutiny of the verbal and written pronouncements of competing propagandas, many people, who in the absence of such analysis might have accepted one or another program urged upon them, would, as a result of the analytical process, refuse to be persuaded. The editors exposed themselves to an intellectual dilemma: to the degree that their techniques were effective and in proportion to the "propaganda consciousness" which they induced upon their public, the total effect of the Institute would run counter to social neutrality and in the direction of influencing legislation. Greater mass enthusiasm could be anticipated for those groups whose literature the Institute had not specifically dissected and for those whose use of the seven devices was more restrained. All of this may be very desirable, but it hardly confirms the allegedly non-propagandistic character of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

3. *Propaganda analysis is socially beneficial.*

> The Germans acted without analysis. They followed Adolf Hitler to dictatorship and war. Neville Chamberlain acted, too. . . . Those who acclaimed him failed to analyze the propaganda of appeasement. They heard "peace." They cheered. Some of them lie dead at Dunkirk today.[7]

The impression conveyed by this passage is that propaganda analysis could have prevented Dunkirk and carries with it the implication that propaganda analysis can be an important element in averting other social disasters. This point of view is propagandistic and not always true. The most eloquent testimony in this respect is the fact that the Institute saw fit to suspend publication almost immediately after the entrance of the United States into World War II, a tacit admission that propaganda in wartime might very well be a distinct social asset which had best not be examined with excessive skepticism.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis and the Use of the Seven Devices

The basic operating principles of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis are largely contained in its first two bulletins subtitled,

6. *Ibid.,* I, 4.
7. *Ibid.,* III, iv.

"A Bulletin to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda." We find that the eight pages which comprise these two bulletins are replete with each of the seven devices which the Institute so painstakingly identified. Limitations of space render detailed documentation prohibitive, but for purposes of illustration it will suffice to reproduce an excerpt in which the use of "transfer," "testimonial," and "bandwagon" techniques are so ingeniously intertwined that it is difficult to assert with confidence which of these techniques takes precedence in the passage.

> *Is there recognition of the need to analyze facts, alleged facts, opinions, propaganda?* Yes. It is implied in the public forum movement; in privately circulated letters for business men prepared by such as the Kiplinger Washington Agency, the Whaley-Eaton Service, Harland Allen; in the New York Herald-Tribune Annual Forum on Current Problems; in various college conferences on economics, politics, and world issues; in recent editorials of the *New York Times* (Sept. 1, 1937) and *Springfield Republican* (Sept. 3, 1937); in the reports and programs of the Foreign Policy Association, in the privately circulated reports of Consumers Union; in the programs and addresses of educators, clergymen, and editors at the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations arranged by the National Conference of Jews and Christians; and in various radio programs including the University of Chicago Round Table and the Town Meeting of the Air. H. G. Wells included the study of propaganda in his blue print of a new system of education before the 1937 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, (*New York Times,* Sept. 5, 1937). All persons, according to his blue print, should study propaganda and advertising methods as a corrective to newspaper reading.[8]

It is a comparatively simple matter to compile a rather formidable series of illustrations from subsequent issues in the four volumes published by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis demonstrating how often the Institute utilized the seven devices. It seems abundantly clear that the virtuous as well as the villainous, the scientist as well as the demagogue, the educator as well as the propagandist, the democrat as well as the totalitarian, all resort to the use of these techniques. We seem to be faced with a choice between two unpalatable alternatives: we must conclude that, either there are in fact

8. *Ibid.,* I, 3-4.

no relevant distinctions between Gerald L. K. Smith and the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and that we may dismiss them both with equal impartiality, or we may abandon an approach which claims that the responsible use of language is the primary index of virtue. As for us, we choose the latter without difficulty. We are not at all prepared to say, with equal fervor, "A plague on both your houses."

Few of us, in fact, would agree to give our assent to the first of these alternatives. Perhaps the only impressive support for this point of view would come from logical positivism, which is the philosophic counterpart of the technique detection approach. Logical positivism holds that linguistic analysis is the prime function of philosophy, and its votaries are much occupied with distinguishing "meaningless" from "meaningful" propositions. In this connection, they contend that all "normative" value judgments (as opposed to purely "descriptive" assertions of value) are, strictly speaking, meaningless and literally non-sense. A celebrated passage by A. J. Ayer will illustrate this contention:

> . . . The presence of an ethical symbol in a proposition adds nothing to its factual content. Thus if I say to someone, "You acted wrongly in stealing that money," I am not stating anything more than if I had said, "You stole that money," in a peculiar tone of horror, or written it with the addition of some special exclamation marks. The tone, or the exclamation marks, adds nothing to the literal meaning of the sentence. It merely serves to show that the expression of it is attended by certain feelings in the speaker.[9]

Thus, all normative ethical judgments are united in their meaninglessness. "You acted properly" and its contradictory "You acted improperly" are subjected to the same mode of analysis. Since we have detected a fallacy of expression which embraces them both, our sole concern is to eliminate each from further consideration. In much the same fashion we have only to satisfy ourselves that Gerald L. K. Smith and the Institute for Propaganda Analysis are equally guilty of "name calling," using "glittering generalities" and the like, and we are free to house them together in our minds. It seems that quite literally neither has said anything.

The great merit of this approach is that it sensitizes us to our use of language, clarifies the nature of truth, and offers precise

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9. A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic,* Dover Publications, New York, 1946, p. 107.

boundaries for meaningful scientific discourse. Its disadvantages are several:

1. Logical positivism abandons a substantial area of the philosophy of value as a source of fruitful scientific inquiry.

2. It deprives us of any philosophical criteria by which we can distinguish the socially vicious from the socially benign.

3. By informing us that all parties to a dispute are probably talking gibberish, logical positivism tends to inhibit further sociological, psychological, political, and historical analyses of the statements under consideration and of the disputants themselves.

4. Logical positivism implies support for the doctrine that conflict is primarily a function of communication error and misreading of meaning, and diverts our attention from those more typical situations in which the difficulty resides in the fact that the antagonists quite correctly perceive that there is exactly there what meets the eye.

5. The fearful apparatus of symbolic logic which logical positivists need to sustain their linguistic analysis is well beyond lay comprehension and is therefore not suited for purposes of mass education.

Except for the fact that it is unpretentious and can be readily taught, technique detection shares common virtues and vices with logical positivism. Of course, our students must learn to use language with precision, but pending the development of a universal metalanguage, we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that all English which seeks to persuade will use techniques similar to the celebrated seven. In fact, the suspicion persists that one of the reasons why propaganda techniques were so prominent in the Institute's writings is the fact that, in given specific situations, they are sometimes most useful and relevant—one might say indispensable—including even those which are commonly thought to be the most reprehensible.

When several presidents of the United States challenge the veracity of Drew Pearson, one referring to him as a "chronic Liar," this is doubtlessly "name-calling." If, however, this is an accurate statement of the facts, this epithet can conceivably serve the useful purpose of directing our attention to Mr. Pearson's journalistic career. When the Institute informs us that the late Charles Beard, professor emeritus of history at Columbia University was favorably disposed towards the necessity of propaganda analysis, it is resorting to the use of both the "transfer" and "testimonial" devices. However, Dr. Beard's opinions on current history may quite legitimately be an important factor in aiding the citizen (especially the

intelligent citizen) to make up his mind. When an orator gives it as his considered opinion that "collective bargaining is a necessary foundation for a free and democratic political and economic structure," he is committing himself to a reasonably well-understood frame of reference which he communicates to his audience despite his use of "glittering generalities."

Limitations of space and time forbid the definitive expansion of "free," "democratic," and "collective bargaining." Furthermore, if we were to insist on a treatise each time a man wishes to express a thought, both our ideas and our vocabularies would be impoverished by the exclusion of abstractions or generalizations of any sort. In brief, except in the most arid descriptive discourse, the seven propaganda devices appear to be a necessary element in all linguistic communication.

The discovery of these and kindred propaganda techniques will not help us in making relevant distinctions between those whom we are justified in dismissing peremptorily and those to whom we owe a respectful hearing. Briefly, we will not be able to distinguish the pedagogues from the demagogues by using a linguistic scorecard. It is true that whenever we come across one or another propaganda technique in written or verbal utterance, we may be reasonably sure that someone is trying to persuade us to give our consent to his "pre-determined ends." But this is merely unnecessary confirmation of what we should have known *a priori*. Complete intellectual neutrality is a fond but untenable wish-image. The type of guidance we really need would contribute to our ability to make wise choices among competing "pre-determined ends." Instead of the attractive simplicity of linguistic analysis we are compelled to address ourselves to the classic problems of discriminating the socially good from the socially evil, and of distinguishing truth from falsehood. Alas, we are where the technique detection advocates found us—faced with the stern necessity of joining our students in the slow process of building the sciences of ethics and social behavior.

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THE AGING IN OUR CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

Maurice P. Moffatt

One of our major challenges ahead lies in the social and economic problems facing older persons. This question encompasses health, employment, income, pensions, housing, leisure needs, recreation, education, friendships, security, comfort, and happiness. Time and change are rapid movers and forcefully confront those individuals upon retirement and in the passing years. As the character of our growing population changes, a more positive approach will be the pattern followed in coping with the increasing number of older persons.

Aging is a normal process, and the individual should retain much of the courage that goes with a positive outlook on life. The hard, cold fact is that everyone is getting older all the time. Advanced medical science and modern health directives are working to increase the life span for many individuals. Much depends upon the success in the long range conquest of cancer and heart disease. Much depends also upon the results achieved through education and guidance in reducing the number of accidents in the home, on the highways, and elsewhere in the general environment. Many times fatigue, poor vision, and other weaknesses that accompany the later years contribute to numerous serious accidents. In spite of the many hazards and the new problems found in our complex society, great gains have been made in longevity. Advances in extending the life span have been very noticeable in recent years in our own country as well as in others. With this extension of the life span greater consideration must be given to those who reach the stages of senior citizens.

A report of the New Jersey Old Age Study Commission entitled *A Positive Policy Toward Aging* and published in 1957, reveals some interesting information:

"You will be one day older tomorrow. That is a certainty. That you will in time reach what is regarded as old age has a higher probability today than ever before in history. For today's babies in New Jersey that probability is 50% higher than it was when their parents or grandparents were babies in 1900. Fully two-thirds of today's youngsters in our State will live past 65. And long before they reach that age more than one of 10 of all the citizens in New Jersey will be older than 65. What is more, when a person has reached 65 in today's environment his life expectancy is still 14 years, or close to a 50-50 chance of reaching a full four score.

"The figures of the present are themselves impressive. As of July 1, 1956, out of our New Jersey population of 5,403,000 nearly half a million have passed their 65th birthday. It is evident, therefore, that this report deals with a lot of New Jersey's citizens now, and all of them as time goes on."

Another significant finding is pertinent to illuminate the status of those who continued to work after the normal age for retirement.

"In New Jersey an estimated 112,000 are working after age 65; of these 79,000 are men and 32,800 women. Approximately 33,000 of them have part-time employment."

"The number of New Jersey residents on the Old Age Assistance rolls was 20,252 in July, 1955, only 4.5% of the total over-65 population."

Plans for easing the difficulties that face people in the transition process from employment to retirement are receiving consideration in some areas of our society. There is a growing concern for the welfare of this group of older persons. Some guidance and education are especially needed to familiarize those contemplating retirement with significant matters which are of importance to their future welfare. Facilities should be made available by business and industry for those seeking advice, especially as they approach or find themselves in the early stages of retirement. There are too many people approaching retirement who give little thought to constructive plans for living as senior citizens. As is sometimes the case, suggestions from family, neighbors, and friends are of little consequence to a pre-retirement person. Some have not had much time to think about the future. Others reach the mandatory age for retirement and seek other employment, stating—retirement is not for me.

Some individuals say, "I shall continue to work as long as I feel well. If I quit I would not know what to do with myself around the house." Yet one recently retired person when asked, "What are you going to do now that you are retired?" replied, "I'm going to relax and not do anything for a while." Another retired executive stated, "Too many people lose their self-respect after they give up their life long careers. They should look to the present and to the future." One executive included in his retirement plan a small private office where he could have quiet and do as he pleased. A retired railroad engineer found his retirement enjoyment in the training and driving of harness horses.

Our dynamic population growth coupled with a continued advance in technology will be factors to focus attention upon a need for a thorough study of the aging and their retirement. The older job

seekers are sometimes successful but in many cases are discriminated against because they are over sixty-five years of age. In fact in many instances the doors of opportunity may be closed to the forty —or forty-five year old worker because of the age barrier in certain fields. It is interesting to note that New York State has passed a new anti-discrimination law. The measure became effective on July 1, 1958, and prohibits discrimination because of age. It generally favors the older worker in his search for employment. Further-more, it aids him in holding a job secured in business or industry. He is not disqualified as in some previous situations because a certain age has been reached. This measure also carried certain other provisions but in the long view it is hoped will open employment opportunities for many people.

We need to learn that retirement must offer a worthwhile challenge. Along life's path the difficult tasks and rewarding goals some-times call for a measure of fortitude and patience. The mature individual soon realizes the growing responsibility for a long rather than a short view on life in general. When to retire is a decision that presents a problem to millions of people. To many weighing the possibilities of retirement proves to be the most difficult task of their entire career. Time alone will be the final judge of the matter once the decision to retire has been reached. It may prove both profitable and beneficial for many individuals to retire when the opportunity presents itself. Yet if the active person is suddenly thrust into idleness without any previous planning, unhappiness may be the result.

The newer thinking along the lines of a "gradual retirement plan" whereby the employee can enjoy more leisure time or vacations and have fewer working days has possibilities. This type of an ar-rangement permits the individual to enter into a gradual program in preparation for the event of complete retirement. In this manner the break from a very active employment will not prove to be so shocking to some individuals. This so-called tapering off from a career is presently being used by some business firms. The whole idea may grow in scope and become a standard practice in some areas of our industrial society.

Aid for the older members of our communities is receiving atten-tion in some measure. It is becoming very obvious that this large segment of our society is facing problems and would welcome assist-ance and direction. More Americans are living to the normal age of 65 for eligible retirement. Yet it is interesting to point out that

there is a tendency toward earlier retirement at 60 and 62 years of age.

Clubs and Day Centers are growing up in cities and are supported by contributions from groups and individuals. Some elderly people avert loneliness through activities in such group participation. They are able to do interesting things and participate in experiences that bring satisfaction. When weather permits, trips are planned to a camp or park that are enjoyable for these senior club members. Friendships are developed, and experiences exchanged fitting to such groups.

Some states are establishing bureaus which offer services for the aging. In a few cases they are reviewing the programs offered to their older citizens. The purpose is to better meet the health, recreation, and adult education needs of the increased number of people falling into this general group. Such action undertaken early will expand the present programs and point toward the future with increased services. In this manner the difficult situations can be more easily handled before they become major problems. By this approach many older people will benefit and their general living will be made richer and more useful.

A Progress Report of the Bureau of Services for the Aging, Department of Welfare, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, dated October, 1957, contains some basic objectives:

"The major long range objectives of the Bureau of Services for the Aging are to provide an avenue for the establishment of services to the older citizens of Pennsylvania, including both those services which may be termed extra-mural and those which are included in the services that are institutional.

The immediate goals in the area of community consultation are as follows:

1. Alerting communities to the increasing needs of the aging population.

2. To develop representative community groups in as many counties of the state as possible to assume responsibility for planning, developing and implementing comprehensive programs of services for the aging.

3. To aid communities to develop facts around their present programs, community resources and unmet needs, in order to develop long range and immediate programs to meet these needs.

4. To help communities to coordinate their programs and make the most effective use of local resources to achieve realistic services for the aging.

5. To act as a center for information and referral service to communities regarding programs for the aging and to help develop materials which can be utilized by communities and groups interested in these problems.

6. To expand the relationships with private and public agencies, institutions and organizations interested in the field of services for the aging."

"It might be noted that there are at present roughly 1,200,000 persons in the Commonwealth who are 60 years of age and over, by 1970 if the overall population of the state does not change that number will increase to 2,000,000. In other words, the percentage of persons 60 years of age and over will jump from 12 per cent to 20 per cent. We can also anticipate that in the next ten years the number of facilities housing aged persons will increase to somewhere in the vicinity of 1500 from the present 1000 institutions."

Housing for the aged is receiving federal, state, and local consideration. New public housing projects designed for elderly families also provide that single persons sixty-five or older are made eligible. Some special housing projects for our needy senior citizens contain low rent apartments situated on the ground floor. This type of specifically designed living quarters is well suited for happy, healthful living. Housing that meets the needs for the aging is an important nation-wide consideration. In some such recent housing projects it is revealed that many older people like the association of indivduals within their own age group. Furthermore, many older people tend to remain active when living in the proper environment. Additional research in this area may prove very beneficial in the years ahead as the population of this age group steadily increases.

Church homes, homes for the aged, nursing homes, and hospitals are the living centers for some of our elderly people. This is especially true of those who are chronically ill and who are feeling the weight of years.

A large number of aged persons live out their lives in conventional homes, either their own or home of relatives and friends. The housing situation for senior citizens is of major consideration. In most cases the choice of where to live is influenced by the individual's income.

The economic status of our senior citizens varies. Many of our

elderly people are trying to live on pensions that have shrunk because of inflation. Some have other sources of income such as social security benefits, annuities, private savings, old age assistance, and part-time employment. A little prior planning for retirement may present a different type of economic security. Property or home ownership, family, and a retirement plan are other items that further shape the economic picture of an older person.

The awareness that the status of the older citizen is a growing and continuing problem has been manifested in many sections of our nation. Society in general is sensitive to some of the rapid technological changes that will be a factor in tomorrow's business and industrial world. Rapid transportation, urban expansion and population shifts all are interwoven into the pattern of change in our ways of life. These changes affect old and young alike. Yet more attention will have to be focused upon the aging citizen in the decades that lie ahead.

Our government through the Office of Health, Education and Welfare has been alert to the services for the aging. Some states have recognized this need and the urgency for establishing Adult Educational Programs for older people. Many "young oldsters" and the middle age groups can be aided through education in charting the course for successful living as they approach retirement and the harvest years.

In conclusion, the future with the assurance of a steady increase in our older population will present a challenge for continuing education. Such adult or in-service training programs using various techniques in the courses can reach many people. New skills can be acquired, special interests amplified, and old as well as new methods of business sharpened. More research projects and guided studies are needed to establish the functional approach for those seeking guidance and knowledge in many areas of society.

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COMMENTS ON ORGANIZATION

Michael H. Mescon

The mammoth business corporations of today often provide little opportunity for individual need satisfaction. The size of these structures when coupled with galloping technology have all but emasculated the formal work role of the operative employee. Caught in the web of bureaucracy, the average worker often has little opportunity to attain from his sterile work role the status, recognition, and security traditionally associated with work. Because of this bureaucratic blocking of worker needs, the informal organization and the union are often turned to as effective vehicles for enhancing both the individual's bargaining position and his feeling of importance.

Now, it can hardly be questioned that the ideal situation in the business organization would be one where no informal organization existed, assuming that the informal organization arises because worker needs cannot be satisfied within the framework of formal organization. In other words, it is quite possible that employer misunderstanding of employee needs might very well result in the employee's turning to the informal organization or union for that type of satisfaction which management is unable to offer. It follows, then, that the goals of the formal and informal organization might very well be diametrically opposed with the result that segmentation, departmental cleavages, and employee unrest become a normal part of the work environment.

Goal Establishment

The establishment of goals is a necessary requisite for the continued being of the formal and informal organization, and the attainment of these goals is basic to the perpetuation of these organizational types. That the goals of the formal and informal organization many times differ often indicates the failure of the formal organization to function in an efficient manner, i.e., to satisfy "the motives of participants while they try to attain the ends of the organization."[1] Although an organization may be effectively structured about functions, with efficient operation the most significant criterion, these functions in turn must be carried out by the human factors of organization. It is therefore almost mandatory that individual and group needs be satisfied within the formal organization framework. If need satisfaction is blocked. "a network of personal and social relations which are not defined or prescribed by formal organization"[2] arises.

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[1] Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 862.

[2] Miller and Form, *Op. Cit.*, p. 864.

34

This is the informal organization. The gap between the formal and the informal organization is thus determined by the extent to which needs are satisfied by each of these organizational forms.

Need Satisfaction

Social equilibrium is attained when individual and group needs are effectively satisfied. If these needs are satisfied while enterprise goals are attained then the organization is functioning in an efficient manner. When human needs and enterprise goals are thwarted, pressure is exerted by that segment of organization which is most frustrated in terms of goal attainment. Constant intraorganizational tensions and pressures contribute to the fragmentation of the larger organization into autonomous units nurtured by the ruins of the less cohesive groups within the organization. Quite naturally, this social climate contributes to institutional decadence in much the same way that geographic sectionalism contributes to the weakening of our economic framework.

Informal Organization Pressures

When individual and group needs are not being satisfied by the formal organization, the informal organization arises. As a compensatory and sometimes vindictive phenomenon, it provides recognition for and acceptance of the individual when these factors are unattainable through the individual's formal work role.

While fully recognizing the negative aspects that might accompany the rise of the informal organization, it should be recognized that an alert management can direct the energy of this informal organization in such a manner that enterprise goals and objectives might be more readily attained. Basic, of course, to harnessing this energy is management's recognition and acceptance of the informal organization and management's willingness to work through the indigenous leaders of the informal organization.

The Nature of Balance and Equilibrium

Equilibrium is a dynamic phenomenon implying change, adjustment, and finally assimilation. Balance tends to be a static phenomenon signifying change and adjustment to the extent that group cohesiveness is not adversely affected. Balance involves the perpetuation of the status quo in spite of, for example, technological changes. Equilibrium is more realistically oriented in that effective adjustment to environmental factors is of greater significance than the perpetuation of the "we" feeling. While the perpetuation of this "we" feeling is not necessarily negative, it can evolve into an atomistic pattern characterized by inter and intra departmental conflicts.

Absorption of Technological Developments

Each technological change or management innovation creates a cultural shock, the intensity of which is regulated by the employee's understanding of the reason for such a change. For example, in introducing job evaluation for the purpose of effecting an equitable wage structure the employee is basically interested in (1) what this is going to do *for* him and (2) what this is going to do *to* him.

The Nature of Effective Communication

Communication takes place whenever symbols are transmitted from a sender to a receiver. As a social process, its importance cannot be overestimated, especially as it pertains to balance and equilibrium. While communication implies only a sender, symbol, and receiver pattern, effective communication involves a somewhat different structure. In order for communication to be effective, the receiver must not only understand the symbols of the sender but must carry out the directions of the sender in such a manner that the sender is satisfied. Effective communication, therefore, involves motivation as well as understanding.

Communication and Group Values.

In order for communication to be effective, the sender must be able to communicate within the framework of group values. The introduction of an incentive plan, for example, requires that the individuals most directly affected by such a plan fully understand the nature and scope of this device. In other words, the employee must be sold on the plan in order for the plan to be completely integrated into the organizational framework. If the individual and the work group are adverse to the introduction of an incentive system, then a gulf is effected between management goals and expectations and group norms. The seriousness of this gulf and the power of the informal organization's social controls was illustrated in the Bank Wiring Room Experiment. Regarding this experiment Miller and Form comment:[3]

> In the contest between a management expectation and the group standards, the informal organization of the workers is most likely to prevail in determining conduct.

Effective communication, then, can serve as a vehicle for providing a meeting ground between management expectations and group standards. When such a meeting is realized, the organization is functioning in an efficient manner.

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[3] Miller and Form, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64.

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PREDICTION OF INTERESTS BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE
William C. Budd

The folklore of our culture contains many references to the so-called "intuition" of women. Women are said to possess powers of premonition and prediction to a much more marked extent than do the intuitively handicapped members of the opposite sex. Much debate has ensued as to whether this superiority really does exist or if it exists only in the minds of women. This paper does not purport to answer this question but it is an attempt to explore one facet of the problem. It is an account of a pilot study designed to measure the relative predicting power of men and women.

Design of the study. The sample used in this study consisted of twenty-six married couples enrolled at Western Washington College of Education during the academic year 1954-55. The sample was not selected in any systematic fashion. Generally either the husband or the wife was enrolled in a class taught by the author. No effort was made to expand the size of the sample to some predetermined number.

The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which marital partners could predict the interests of their husband or wife. Interest was measured by the use of the Kuder Preference Record, Form CM.

Three hypotheses were set up for the test in the study. Stated in the form of null hypotheses, they were as follows:

1. There would be no significant difference between men and women in the abiilty to predict interest patterns of their respective husband or wife.
2. The length of marriage would bear no relationship to the ability to predict interests.
3. There would be no tendency on the part of individuals to bias the prediction of their partner's interests in the direction of their own interests.

Procedure. Each person participating in the study was given a copy of the booklet of the Kuder Preference Record and two answer sheets for this test. The answer sheets were to be filled out according to the following instructions:

1. The husband was requested to answer the items as he normally would if taking the test. This answer sheet was then labeled M_1.
2. The husband was then asked to answer the items as he felt his wife would answer them if she were taking the test. This was to be done independently with no assistance from the wife. This answer sheet was then labeled M_2.

37

3. The wife was asked to follow the same procedure and her answer sheets were labeled F_1 and F_2.

Once the answer sheets were completed they were scored and raw scores were found for the ten fields of interest reported by this test. Next all possible intercorrelations were computed for the ten sets of scores, that is, r M_1F_1 would be computed for scores 0 through 9, then r F_1M_2 would be similarly computed. The ten coefficients thus obtained for r M_1F_1 were combined by the use of Fisher's z transformation to give the one coefficient r M_1F_1. The same procedure was followed for r F_1M_2, r M_1M_2, r F_1F_2, r M_2F_2, r M_1F_1, and r M_1F_2.

Once these calculations had been performed for the entire sample, the sample was divided into three groups based upon the length of time the couple had been married. The three groups were:

1. Married less than one year.
2. Married between one and five years.
3. Married five or more years.

Similar computations were then made for the three sub groups.

Findings of the study. Table I gives the coefficients of correlation calculated according to the procedure described. To test hypothesis number one, that no difference exists in predicting ability between men and women, a comparison can be made between r M_1F_2, the relationship between the husband's actual scores and his wife's predictions and r F_1M_2, the relationship between the wife's actual scores and the husband's predictions. The coefficient r $M_1F_2 = +$ .694 and r $F_1M_2 = +$ .490. The difference between the two is in favor of the women but is not significant at the 5 per cent level. Consequently we must conclude that the null hypotheses is tenable.

To test hypothesis number two, that length of marriage bears no relationship to the ability to predict interest, it is necessary to note the changes that occur in r M_1F_2 and r F_1M_2 in the three sub groups. There is no systematic tendency for these coefficients to increase or decrease in magnitude. Consequently it must be concluded that length of marriage bears no observable relationship to the ability to predict interests.

The test of the third hypothesis concerning the tendency to bias or slant the predicted answers in relation to the predictor's own interests, is found in an examination of the coefficients r M_1M_2 and r F_1F_2. These are approximately equal so it must be concluded that neither sex differs significantly from the other in the extent to which they bias their responses. These coefficients should be compared with the coefficient r M_1F_1 which gives the actual relationship between the interest pattern of husband and wife. Theoretically the degree of

TABLE I
COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN PREDICTED AND
ACTUAL INTEREST PATTERNS AMONG MARRIED COUPLES AS
MEASURED BY THE KUDER PREFERENCE RECORD

Coefficient	Total Group N = 26	Less than 1 Year N = 7	1-5 Years N = 13	5 Years N = 6
r M_1F_2	.694	.808	.495	.851
r F_1M_2	.490	.617	.346	.693
r M_1M_2	.250	.020	.254	.508
r F_1F_2	.261	.139	.226	.503
r M_2F_2	.178	.040	.240	.264
r M_1F_1	.337	.100	.388	.446

M_1 = husband's actual score
M_2 = husband's prediction of wife's score
F_1 = wife's actual score
F_2 = wife's prediction of husband's score

slant or bias should approach this figure. Deviations from it reflect a tendency to magnify existing discrepancies between interests of husband and wife.

An interesting observation on this relationship is that all three of these coefficients tend to increase in magnitude with increasing length of marriage with r M_1M_2 and r F_1F_2 increasing more rapidly than r M_1F_1. This might be interpreted to mean that even though husbands and wives are growing more alike in interest, they feel they are more alike than they actually are.

There appears to be no logical interpretation of the coefficient r M_2F_2.

Summary. The purpose of this study was to compare the ability of husbands and wives to predict the interests of each other.

Women tend to be better predictors than men but in this study the difference was not statistically significant. Length of marriage bore no relationship to the ability to predict. There was very little tendency for individuals to slant the predicted interests of their spouse in the direction of their own interests.

This can only be assumed to be a pilot study which bears indirectly on the matter of women's intuition. This so called "intuition" of women is perhaps better interpreted as a tendency to be more perceptive of the interests and attitudes of the man than is true in the reverse direction.

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EDUCATIONAL PREPARATION FOR THE FEMALE ROLE

Aaron Lipman

It is by now a commonplace observation that the role of women has been in a period of transition for some time. Many, however, are not fully aware of the rapidity and full consequences of this change. It seems strange for us to realize that before the year 1920, half of the adult population of the United States was unable to vote in national elections. The reason for this disenfranchisement was that they belonged to the wrong sex. Again, prior to 1922, if an American man married an alien, she automatically became an American citizen; if an American woman married an alien, however, she lost her American citizenship. Even today, when we consider ourselves relatively modern and enlightened, several states disbar women from jury duty because of what is termed "defect of sex."

There are two important and interrelated factors that have been mainly responsible for a changing trend towards equality : urbanization and industrialization. The growth and diffusion of industrialization have everywhere been accompanied by moves for the emancipation of women, both within the family and within the society.[1]

With industrialization, the tremendous importance of brute strength diminishes, and this simple fact has far-reaching consequences. For the longest time in human history, this had been literally a man-made world, since in the last analysis a man could, with his greater physical strength, force a woman to accept a world he made. Contrary to the myth of the Amazon woman, in every known human society the ultimate source of authority has generally resided in the male.

Technological changes have altered this; brains, rather than brawn, have now become important. We have machines that can fly, push, pull, and kill, and they require little physical strength to operate. The old balance of power, therefore, has changed.

Another important result of industrialization and urbanization has been the gradual transfer of the economic functions once performed by women in the family, from the home to industry. When this occurred, many women followed these jobs, and worked outside the home. (In the United States today, about one-third of the total

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[1] Marion J. Levy, *The Family Revolution in Modern China*, London: Oxford Press, 1949, p. 12.

40

labor force is composed of women, and over half of these women workers are married.)[2]

Since in an urban industrialized society, material achievement is highly emphasized,[3] once women demonstrated that they could perform what was then considered man's work as effectively and (because of lower wages) more economically than men, they achieved a certain amount of economic independence. This new economic independence offered women an alternative to a male dominated marriage. As indicated by the extremely low marriage rate for college women in the early 1900's, the choice for many of them was career *or* marriage.

Women slowly continued to encroach on former all-male occupations. They then fought successfully for equal rights in other areas, such as the educational, political, marital, and in recent times, military. In the fight for equality, a great number of these women and their male supporters confused equality with sameness. Many women actually attempted to become *the same* as men, and they reacted against anything that was indicative of a male-female difference. As with any discriminated group, they aped the so-called dominant male, through smoking, drinking in public, wearing pants, boyish bobs, etc. Their fight for equality became a fight for sameness. One book even claimed that once the social differences disappeared, many of the biological differences such as size, shape, and strength, would disappear too.[4]

Unknowingly, many people, educators as well as laymen, still confuse equality with sameness. Equality is an ethical concept, meaning that each person shares the same claim to freedom and happiness, that each person should be given equal opportunity to develop his or her potentiality to the fullest.[5] If there are differences among people, equality insures them the right to develop these differences. With woman, one of the most obvious, yet neglected, differences is her biological role. Adult educators must take this biological role into account in their approach to education. The fact that many women will be or are mothers, should have a much greater impact on their educational preparation, then the complimentary fact that the males will be fathers. In our society the dichotomous choice

[2] Women's Bureau, *1958 Handbook on Women,* Workers Bulletin No. 266.

[3] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, p. 533.

[4] Mathilde Vaerting and Mathias Vaerting, *The Dominant Sex,* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1923, p. 115.

[5] Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom,* New York: Rinehart & Co., 1941, p. 264.

of marriage or career has changed; at present most college women desire marriage, and the greater proportion of them (83%) achieve it.

Marriage generally leads to fulfillment of the biological maternal role for women, and because of this marital and biological role, there is a definite change in female role expectations. Women, in fact, may be said to have three major role adjustments to make: (a) after marriage, but before children are born; (b) after children are grown and have left home; and (c) the period after marriage when their children are young and need almost constant maternal care and supervision. In regard to this last adjustment, it is obvious from the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, that the overwhelmingly predominant role of the married woman with children is "housewife";[6] unlike an agricultural society where economic production and human reproduction can be performed simultaneously, these mothers do not enter the occupational sphere in large numbers. (Less than one-eighth of all women workers have children under the age of six.)[7]

At present, the education and socialization of women has taken into account only two of these adjustment phases. Women are educated for careers which they can actively pursue only during that period when they are not engaged in the rearing of young children. They are perhaps adequately prepared occupationally for the period prior to childbearing, and the period when the children are grown and have left home. The hiatus between these two periods (which for some women lasts for as long as ten or fifteen years) has been neglected by educators. Since women often get the same pre-adult and adult education that men receive, many of them find themselves totally unprepared for the child-rearing phase. A large number tend to regard it merely as an unfortunate "marking time" between the two meaningful occupational phases of their lifetimes. (This negative attitude towards child rearing may of course be reflected in some of the personalities of the children involved.)

It would appear, then, that much of the education of women is socially unrealistic, since men and women, although they have different futures in life, still receive a similar educational preparation. Both men and women are being prepared for the occupational sphere, neglecting the fact that women also have a domestic and maternal sphere. Orientation towards work achievement may be functional for the male, since in our society the male's primary family role

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6 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Fact Book on Manpower,* Bulletin No. 1171, September 1954.

7 Ibid.

is still an occupational one, i.e., economic provider. The same occupational orientation is dysfunctional for the female, however, because although the occupational pattern of the male is unbroken, that of the female involves discontinuity, and an important area—achievement in marriage, reproduction, and the family—is not properly stressed. (The lower marriage rate for college women,[8] as well as their lower fertility rate,[9] is undoubtedly related to this male occupational orientation.)

We must realize that men and women are *not* the same, although they are equal. Both male and female should be given the opportunity to develop themselves to their fullest capabilities. One of the major goals of women should be the fulfillment of her biological maternal role; not merely reproduction, but more importantly, caring for and molding the development of the child.

Educators must help women understand that the homemaker's maternal role calls for knowledge and expertness as does any other occupational role. Raising a family successfully is certainly as creative and important an occupation as those to which many of the women aspire as they bitterly complain of themselves as being "just housewives." Besides preparing women for this role, educators should attempt to elevate this role to the same esteem, if not glamor, that any male occupational role enjoys. Emphasis on this role does not imply the elimination or denigration of cultural and occupational creativity for women; it is merely adding another dimension, that of physiological fulfillment. We are attempting to prepare men educationally for their occupational role; let us not neglect educating women for their biological role, realistically interpreted as an integral part of the "careers" of the majority of women in our present day society.

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[8] Edmund de S. Brunner and Sloan Wayland, "Education and Marriage," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1958, p. 28.

[9] Ibid., p. 32.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Man in the Primitive World, 2nd Edition. E. Adamson Hoebel,
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958.

It is doubtful that a better first text in anthropology than E.
Adamson Hoebel's *Man in the Primitive World* exists in print today.
The second edition of this excellent book makes significant contribu-
tions which classify it as one of the most timely and lucid works in
our textbook literature. Without sacrificing theory in the interest
of practical application, Hoebel has synthesized fact and interpre-
tation into a meaningful and precise whole which can do nothing but
enhance the student's understanding of the science of anthropology.

Placed side by side with its predecessor, it is noted that the
second edition is far more than a revision in format only. New
materials are lavishly included throughout, and special emphasis, an
emphasis largely lacking in the first edition, has been given to the
contributions that anthropology can make in helping to solve the
problems of modern man. Indeed, one of the greatest contributions
that this book makes is that while it continues to focus the eyes
of the reader on the "primitive" world, it clarifies the value of this
"looking back" process. The reader is thus guided from the past to
the present and, through the inclusion of carefully selected examples
of the uses to which anthropological knowledge has been put in
recent times, his perspective is enlarged and enriched.

Worthy of being singled out for special comment are the chapters
devoted to race and culture. Without losing the student in a miasma
of material, and yet without over-simplifying, Hoebel has effectively
utilized knowledge from the field of genetics to present a scholarly
and concise analysis of the present view of anthropology in regard
to race. "Culture, not race," says the author, "is the great molder
of human society." While the concept is not new, the method used
by Hoebel to substantiate it for the neophyte, ranks among the
best in current professional literature.

Human values are subjected to sensitive analysis by the author,
and appropriate weight is given in the text to what Hoebel refers
to as the "cross-fertilization of the sciences." The inclusion of material
relating to the newer techniques of field investigation and a plethora
of new and pertinent illustrations all add to the over-all effectiveness
of this book.

It seems questionable to me that the second edition of *Man in
the Primitive World* will receive anything but widespread acceptance
and acclaim by teachers of introductory anthropology courses. Their

enthusiasm may be overshadowed only by that of the students fortunate enough to be introduced to its as an "assigned text."

Ethel J. Alpenfels

Introduction to Educational Research by Carter V. Good. N. Y.: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959. xii + 424 pages, $5.00.

The Modern Researcher by Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff. N. Y.: Harcourt Brace, 1957. xiii + 386 pages, $6.00.

Here is a curious paradox: in the business world, where mercenary standards supposedly prevail, research is held in high esteem. "Our firm has always been a great believer in the efficacy and value of research," a partner in a famous stock exchange brokerage firm recently declared. "We like to invest in and recommend to our clients research-minded industries and companies." In the world of education, where a proper respect for high intellectual standards should predominate, research has never enjoyed the prestige it now commands in business circles.

The reason for this anomalous situation is readily understood. Industry has learned that research is profitable. The development of new products by scientists and engineers has paid off handsomely for entrepeneurs and investors alike. That is why annual expenditures for research in business is now approaching $10 billions a year. No more than an infinitesimal fraction of that sum has ever been available for educational research. In the absence of proper financial support, educational research has not been developed to the point where it can demonstrate its potential worth.

Can educational research serve the needs of our public schools as well as industrial research has done for private enterprise? No one can really answer this question until educational research has been given a proper chance. In short, funds for research activities in this area should be multiplied many times over and adequate incentives offered for properly qualified men and women to enter and remain in the field. Fortunately, the "tidal wave" of student population, now progressing through the secondary schools, will present many potential candidates in the years to come. Fortunately, too, some first rate materials for training these students in the fundamentals are now available.

Introduction to Educational Research was written by one of the giants in the field. Member of the editorial board of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research,* author of the *Dictionary of Education,* and contributor to innumerable scholarly journals, Professor

Good has done as much as anyone to promote study and exploration in this area. Thousands of graduate students have learned the rudiments of the subject from *The Methodology of Educational Research*, written jointly with A. S. Barr and Douglas E. Scates in the middle thirties. Now he has dropped his collaborators (pausing, on the way, to write an advanced treatise called *Methods of Research* with Professor Scates) and "gone it alone." *Introduction to Research* is much more than a reprint of the now venerable *Methodology*. It is an up-to-date, streamlined, and simplified version of the older volume. Although it draws on the research methods developed by psychologists, sociologists, and historians, it touches them but lightly. Likewise, the technical aspects of educational research, such as statistics, standardized tests, projective tests, and other psychometric and sociometric techniques, are presented for illustrative purposes only. The result is a concise anl well-knit introductory exposition of the principal areas of educational research. The bibliography is particularly noteworthy.

The authors of *The Modern Researcher* are just as illustrious as Professor Good in their own specialty—both are historians of note. In one sense, this volume is narrower in scope than Professor Good's: the exposition of research methods is confined largely to the problems of "library" research, which loom so large in historical writing. In another sense, however, it is broader, for it is a "manual of combined operations." It offers not only an introduction to research, but also guidance in the actual writing of the report, thesis, or scholarly work. This volume should prove valuable wherever library research, documentation, and critical evaluation of sources is required. Incidentally, the volume itself presents a striking example of the skills the authors seek to develop—the scholarly approach, the selection, marshalling, and linking together of pertinent facts, and the exposition of ideas in concise, graceful, and pellucid style. As a result, the book provides enjoyable as well as profitable reading.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land, school districts are giving increasing salary recognition to graduate study and advanced degrees. This has provided a fillip for teacher research. School principals seeking books for their teachers who are trying to develop their research skills might well consider the acquisition of these volumes for faculty libraries.

Frederick Shaw

Case Studies in Elementary School Administration, by Dr. Morris
Hamburg. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College,
1957. viii + 114 pages, $2.50.

The typical treatise on school administration emphasizes a gen-
eral body of principles or precepts, drawing supporting examples
from school life only occasionally. This slender volume offers some-
thing markedly different. In the first place, it focuses strongly on
the area of human relations rather than the technical aspects of
school administration. Secondly, as the title implies, it is based on
realistic administrative problems.

Like case-books prepared for law school students, Dr. Hamburg's
volume offers embryonic administrators an opportunity to familiarize
themselves with some of the issues that have bedeviled their pre-
decessors. A wealth of first-hand experience and hard thinking pre-
ceded the actual writing of this book. Obviously, it is not exclusively
a product of arm-chair speculation. The case studies were derived
partly from personal experience, partly from innumerable contacts
with teachers, principals, school superintendents, and university
professors.

Properly handled, this stimulating work could help provide more
realistic training experience than colleges have customarily offered.
It might also prove valuable to practicing administrators. Provided,
of course, that their own problems in human relations leave them
time and energy, after school hours, for serious reading.

Frederick Shaw

Sociological Theory, by Margaret Wilson Vine. New York: Long-
mans, Green & Co., 1959, xvii + 350.

An elementary text in sociological theory has been needed for
some time. Professor Vine's book meets that need. She emphasizes
American and European theorists who have exerted the most influ-
ence in America—from Auguste Comte to Robert Merton. The
treatment of each theorist includes (1) Biography and writings,
(2) Influence of other theorists, (3) Frame of reference, (4) Theory
under five classifications: the person as a social unit, social forces
and processes, social structures, persistence of social structures, and
social change, (5) Summary and evaluation.

The discussions of each of the theorists is well done and the
perspective is good. Individual sociologists might choose different
ones of the "masters" for discussion but there would be little dis-

agreement on the major selections—unless perhaps there might be complaint of Toynbee as a sociologist.

There might be room for argument concerning the author's evaluation of "Prospect." She seems to feel that there is progress because there are fewer competing schools. She is concerned that there is confusion of terminology and method. She also appears to feel that there is progress in the concentration upon the "middle range"—to use Merton's phrase.

There is certainly room for research and theory at the "middle range" level. This author would also be one of the first to say that we need theory which emphasizes social action and social relationships. One finds it hard, however, to not be nostalgic for some of the type of theorization at the overall or general system level. If the experience of Psychology is any indication one of the greatest dangers is the preoccupation with smaller, more manageable, fractionated items at the expense of larger integrated theory. In the sister discipline there has been little if any major theory produced by American scientists. They have been great "manipulators of minutiae" and have quantifiably verified to the last co-efficient of correlation the implications of the theorists of the "grand design," who are almost without exception persons of European background. With computers and univacs we are in great danger of becoming so absorbed with calculations that we miss the role of integrated theory.

It would be difficult to find today theorists of the stature of Ward, Giddings, Cooley, et al.

The book should be well received as a text in undergraduate classes.

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